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Draft (Navy 30 June 1947)

SWNCC Sub-Committee Special Studies and Evaluations

Problem

1. To determine the responsibilities and functions of a Central Psychological Warfare Agency, taking into account the related functions and activities of other government agencies, with a view to recommending a suitable organization of a Central Psychological Warfare Agency for the discharge of these functions in a national organization for integrated and coordinated psychological "warfare" operations in time of war.

Assumptions

2. It is ASSUMED that:

2.1 A National Security Council or a similar organization for closer and continuous coordination on a high level within the government of our domestic, foreign and military policies will be established and will be composed of the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of National Security, the Secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force, the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, and such other members as the President may designate from time to time and the National Security Council will be charged as an advisory body to the President with duties with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign and military policies so as to enable the military services and the other departments and agencies of the government to cooperate more effectively in matters involving national security.

2.1.1 The National Security Council or similar organization will be an extension of the existing Committee of Three and the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee.

2.2 The Joint Chiefs of Staff will continue with duties substantially as at present and will continue their existing status as the principal professional military advisers to the President and the Secretary of National Security.

2.3 Active military agression by enemy or enemies will be initiated against the United States without a Declaration of War.

2.4 Active agressive and destructive psychological "warfare" will be initiated against the United States prior to the beginning of active military agression by the enemy or enemies.

2.5 The time inte val that may be available between the declaration of a state of emergency by the President and the beginning of war may be of the order of a few hours or a few days under most favorable conditions and that the short time interval

NAVY review(s) completed.

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available for transitional activities will adversely affect the mobilization, facilities and personnel for "wartime" implementation of psychological "wartime" plans.

2.6 The President may make, within his extant powers, a "declaration by the President of a state of emergency" without a public declaration and so enable limited psychological "warfare" operations in the interest of national security and national survival.

2.7 The phrase "or declaration by the President of a state of emergency" may be used as a time frame of reference for the separation of "wartime" organizational problems from "peacetime" organizational problems provided due consideration be given to the limitations embraced in assumptions 2.3, 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6 and in the light of the changing situation.

Facts Bearing on the Problem

3. Government agencies involved during "wartime" in activities related to Psychological "Warfare":

3.1 The Executive and the executive agencies of the government are primarily involved in the conducting of psychological "warfare" operations.

3.1.1 The Legislative and Judiciary branches of the government and their supporting activities exercise checks and controls on the Executive branch.

3.1.2 The State Department, the Armed Forces and the Central Intelligence Group are at this time charged with duties and responsibilities and are functionally capable of contributing substantial support to a national psychological "warfare" effort.

3.2 The Subcommittee on Psychological Warfare (P.W.C.) was established 30 April 1947 as the agency of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC), charged with preparation of policies, plans and studies for immediate and continuous employment of national psychological warfare in time of war (or threat of war as determined by the President). The Subcommittee shall have authority, in the absence of a national wartime organization for psychological warfare, to coordinate implementation of approved psychological warfare plans in any war emergency which might arise.

3.3 No national wartime organization for psychological warfare other than the SWNCC P.W.C. under the terms of SWNCC 304/1/2/ has been established.

3.4 The Armed Services have been charged with responsibilities related to training, organization and equipping forces capable of employing psychological "warfare" methods, techniques and facilities. The Armed Services require policy and strategic guidance as well as to be apprised of the character and extent of contribution of

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effort in support of national psychological warfare effort.

3.5 The State Department, the Armed Forces and the Central Intelligence Group operating within their current limitations of appropriated funds and allowed personnel are not in a position to make any substantial operational contribution to a national psychological "warfare" effort without a significant redeployment of personnel and other operating resources from current and projected operations.

3.6 The State Department has a functional organization capable of supporting operationally to a limited extent a national psychological warfare effort but recently enacted budget limitations will operate to reduce the potential operational capabilities of this organization.

3.7 The State Department, the Armed Forces and the Central Intelligence Group are at this time functionally organized to provide intelligence in support of preliminary pilot studies and preliminary planning.

3.8 In time of war the United States government needs to employ the intellectual-emotional instruments of power, psychological warfare included, at its disposal toward the accomplishment of national objectives.

3.9 In time of war duly approved plans and directives which are to be implemented in actual or projected military areas, theaters or commands will be implemented by the military theater commanders concerned.

3.10 In World Wars I and II the effectiveness of Psychological Warfare operations was adversely affected by procedural delays and deficiencies of integration and coordination in organization. Incident to the cessation of combat operations, demobilization and disestablishment of psychological warfare activities these problems and the lessons learned in World Wars I and II remain unresolved into an integrated and coordinated organization for psychological warfare in time of war.

3.11 The existing government agencies which are engaged in disseminating information to the people of the United States include: Bureaus of Public Information of the War and Navy Departments, the Division of Public Affairs of the State Department, Office of Public Information of the Army Air Forces and the Public Relations agencies of the various government departments.

3.12 The Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs in the Department of State is charged with the performance of informational activities with relation to foreign countries as set forth in the charter of that office.

3.13 In order to conduct Psychological Warfare effectively certain basic requirements must be fulfilled, which include:

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(a) Orientation with national policy;

(b) Coordination with military, political and economic policy;

(c) Formulation of psychological warfare plans and policies;

(d) Conduct of Psychological Warfare operations which involves procurement and training of personnel, organizing and administering, procurement and distribution of supplies and equipment; evaluation and analysis of appropriate intelligence for the purpose of directing psychological Warfare activities; preparation and distribution of Psychological Warfare material; constant evaluation of results.

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4.1 The National Security Act of 1947 (S758), now before the Congress, was reported favorably to the Senate from the Committee on Armed Services. If the bill is enacted substantially in its present form the National Security Council will be the primary advisory body, to the Chief Executive on matters pertaining to the national security, replacing the informal Committee of Three, comprising the Secretaries of State, War and Navy now performing this function. Since the national security involves the integration of military, political, and economic policy, it therefore appears essential that there be the closest and most intimate connection between the direction of Psychological Warfare and the National Security Council.

4.2 The report of the Committee of the Senate on Armed Services is quoted:

"World War II crowned the American effort with overwhelming success. At the same time, the projection of this vast effort into almost every field of civil and governmental endeavor disclosed certain fundamental weaknesses in our security structure which should be remedied while their details are fresh in mind. For instance, our slow and costly mobilization, our limited intelligence of the designs and capacities of our enemies, our incomplete integration of political purpose and military objective, and finally, our prodigal use of resources, all demonstrate convincingly that our national existence would be imperiled were we to ignore the costly lessons of war and fail to recognize our national security structure so as to prevent the recurrence of these defects.

In looking to the future, it is apparent, from the potentialities implicit in scientific developments, that the world is entering an era in which war, if it comes, will be fought at speeds and accompanied by devastations that stagger the imagination. Consequently, in order at once to guard our safety and support our efforts to promote and maintain the peace of the world, it is essentil that this country move without delay to provide itself with the best organization for security which can be devised."

4.3 The translation of national policy into the overall strategic plans for military, political, economic and psychological warfare operations requires complete coordination, to avoid conflicting processes or objectives, and to insure that the total resources are employed to a furtherance of the national objective. The balance of effort as between these several operations is dependant upon the changing situation.

4.4 The formulation of psychological warfare plans and policies in accordance with national policy and in coordination with military, political and economic planning, requires the creation of a Policy and Planning Board under the authority and direction of a single responsible head; and this Board must contain representatives from the State Department, Armed Forces and C.I.G. who are qualified to participate in the preparation of plans and policies both as individuals and representatives of their respective organizations.

(Note:Q.Is it considered that the participation of the Armed Forces by their respective representatives provides adequate representation and participation of the JCS?

Q. Should C.I.G. properly participate in preparation of plans and policies in general or should they be brought in only to the extent of planning for "black operations"?)

4.5 The responsibility for the conduct of psychological warfare operations rests in the same authority charged with preparation of psychological warfare plans and policies. It is impossible to separate the responsibility for preparation of plans and policies for psychological warfare operations from the responsibility for the actual conduct of such operations. Therefore the Chief of the Plans and Policies Board must be the titular and actual head of the organization which conducts psychological warfare. This organization must be established functionally with the necessary delegation of authority for the

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essential subdivisions of responsibility.

(NOTE: Q. How will zone of interior, (U. S. interior or continental area subject to invasion by air and/or subject to sabotage, conspiracy, and/or subversion) be treated? At this stage the problem to cope with overseas P.W. operations can be managed by military commanders concerned but at home the problem seems to require more clarification of concept.)

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CONCLUSIONS

5.1 A Central Psychological Warfare Agency should be established in the Executive Branch of the Government and shall be an agency under the National Security Council.

5.2 The Central Psychological Warfare Agency will plan, develop and execute all phases of the Federal program of radio, press, publication and related foreign propaganda activities involving the dissemination of information, and all other foreign propaganda activities, in time of war, or threat of war as determined by the President.

5.3 The Central Psychological Warfare Agency will in time of war be charged with all phases of planning, development, control and coordination of all domestic information policies of the United States Government.

5.4 The Central Psychological Warfare Agency will in time of war assume full operational control of all existing public and private media for projection of United States foreign propaganda or adaptable to foreign propaganda within the continental United States.

5.5 The global strategic nature of psychological warfare will necessitate centralized policy control of all domestic and overseas information agencies.

5.6 The Central Psychological Warfare Agency will have access to and be provided with government intelligence, and have made available to it from the monitoring and analysis agencies foreign information which it may require in the furtherance of its assigned functions.

5.7 (Suggest reconsideration of previous draft with view to striking it out or rephrasing it so as to come into alignment with SWNCC 304/1/2/.)

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Assumptions

2. It is assumed that:

a. A National Security Council or a similar organization will be established for close and continuous coordination on a high level within the Government of domestic, foreign and military policies; to be composed of the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of National Security, the Secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force, the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, and such other members as the President may designate from time to time. The function of the Council will be to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign and military policies, to enable the military services and the other departments and agencies of the Government to cooperate effectively in matters involving the national security.

b. The National Security Council or similar organization will be an extension of the existing Committee of Three and the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee.

c. The Joint Chiefs of Staff will continue with duties substantially as at present and will continue their existing status as the principal professional military advisers to the President and the Secretary of National Security.

d. Active military aggression by an enemy or enemies will be initiated against the United States without a declaration of war.

e. Active aggressive psychological "warfare" will be initiated against the United States both from without and within prior to the beginning of active military aggression by an enemy or enemies.

f. The time interval that may be available between the public declaration of a state of emergency by the President and the beginning of war may be of the order of a few hours or at the most a few months under the most favorable conditions.

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4. No national wartime organization for psychological warfare other than the SWNCC P.W.C. under the terms of SWNCC 304/1/2/ has been established.

5. Government agencies involved during "wartime" in activities related to psychological "warfare":

a. The Executive and the executive agencies of the Government are primarily involved in the conduct of psychological "warfare" operations.

b. The Department of State, the Armed Forces and the National Intelligence Authority have a primary interest and responsibility in the direction and support of a psychological warfare agency of the Government; and contain resources which can be made available to the agency's use.

6. The Armed Services have been charged with responsibilities related to training, organization and equipping forces capable of employing psychological "warfare" methods, techniques and facilities. The Armed Services require (a) policy and strategic guidance; (b) to be apprised of the character and extent of their contribution of effort to the national psychological warfare effort.

7. The Department of State, the Armed Forces and the Central Intelligency Group operating within their current limitations of appropriated funds and allowed personnel are not in a position to make any substantial operational contribution to a national psychological "warfare" effort in time of war or threat of war without a significant redeployment of personnel and other operating resources from current and projected operations.

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8. The Department of State, the Armed Forces and the Central Intelligence Group are at this time functionally organized to provide intelligence in support of preliminary pilot studies and planning.

9. In time of war or threat of war, as determined by the President, the implementation of psychological warfare plans and directives in actual or projected military theaters of operation will be the responsibility solely of the theater commanders concerned.

10. In World War II the effectiveness of psychological warfare operations was adversely affected by procedural delays and deficiencies of integration and coordination in organization. At the termination of combat operations and with the demobilization of psychological "warfare" personnel and the transfer of psychological "warfare" agencies to peacetime activities, no advantage was taken of the lessons learned in World War II or no measure taken to resolve personnel and methods into an integrated and coordinated organization for psychological warfare in time of war.

11. The existing Government agencies which are engaged in disseminating information to the people of the United States include: Bureaus and offices of Public Information of the War and Navy Departments, the Division of Public Affairs of the Department of State, Office of Public Information of the Army Air Forces and the Public Relations agencies of the various Government departments.

12. The Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs in the Department of State is charged with the performance of informational activities "which consist of or are concerned with informing the people of other nations about any matter in which the United States has an interest". (Executive Order 9608, 31 August 1945) The operational potentials of this agency capable of being applied to support the psychological warfare operations of the Government in time of war have been reduced by budgetary limitations for 1948.

13. No psychological warfare specialist reserves exist within the Army, Navy or Department of State.

14. Executive Order 9621 (20 September 1945) provided for the termination of the Office of Strategic Services, effective 1 October 1945, and for the transfer of its intelligence functions to the Department of State and the War Department.

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(1) Orientation with national policy;

(2) Coordination with military, political and economic policy;

(3) Formulation of psychological warfare plans and policies;

(4) Procurement and training of personnel, organizing and administering, procurement and distribution of supplies and equipment; evaluation and analysis of appropriate intelligence for the purpose of directing psychological warfare activities; preparation and distribution of psychological warfare material; constant evaluation of results; research in and development of new psychological warfare methods, techniques, equipment and instruments.

16. So-called "black" psychological warfare involves activities in wartime which are related to the following:

(1) Special type operations conducted by the Armed Forces, such as deception, demolition, behind-the-lines reconnaissance and patrolling, Commando type operations, and counter-intelligence activities.

(2) Secret and subversive operations of the type performed by special OSS units in World War II.

(3) Secret intelligence and counter-intelligence operations of the Central Intelligence Agency.

(4) Specific employment of conventional weapons of war, such as air or naval attacks, for specific psychological warfare objectives.

D I S C U S S I O N

17. The National Security Act of 1947 (S758), now before the Congress, was reported favorably to the Senate from the Committee on Armed Services. If the bill is enacted substantially in its present form the National Security Council will be the primary advisory body, to the Chief Executive on matters pertaining to the national security, replacing the informal Committee of Three, comprising the Secretaries of State, War and Navy now performing this function. Since the national security involves the integration of military, political,

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and coordinate policy, and to provide the closest and most intimate connection between the direction of psychological warfare and the National Security Council.

18. The report of the Committee of the Senate on Armed Services (Senate Report 239 - 5 June 1947) stated in part:

"World War II crowned the American effort with overwhelming success. At the same time, the projection of this vast effort into almost every field of civil and governmental endeavor disclosed certain fundamental weaknesses in our security structure which should be remedied while their details are fresh in mind. For instance, our slow and costly mobilization, our limited intelligence of the designs and capacities of our enemies, our incomplete integration of political purpose and military objective, and finally, our prodigal use of resources, all demonstrate convincingly that our national existence would be imperiled were we to ignore the costly lessons of war and fail to recognize our national security structure so as to prevent the recurrence of these defects.

"In looking to the future, it is apparent, from the potentialities implicit in scientific developments, that the world is entering an era in which war, if it comes, will be fought at speeds and accompanied by devastations that stagger the imagination. Consequently, in order at once to guard our safety and support our efforts to promote and maintain the peace of the world, it is essential that this country move without delay to provide itself with the best organization for security which can be devised."

19. The translation of national policy into the overall strategic plans for military, political, economic and psychological warfare operations requires complete coordination, to avoid conflicting processes or objectives, and to insure that the total resources are employed to a furtherance of the national objective. The balance of effort as between these several operations is dependent upon the changing situation.

20. The President may within his powers issue instructions to the State, War and Navy Departments which would without a public declaration of a state of emergency set in motion limited psychological "warfare" operations.

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The SWNCC Sub-committee is described in this Charter (SWNCC 304/1-304/2) as "an agency of SWNCC charged with preparation of psychological warfare policies, plans, and studies for employment in time of war, (or threat of war as determined by the President.) The Sub-committee shall have authority, in the absence of a national wartime organization for psychological warfare to coordinate implementation of approved psychological warfare plans in any war emergency which might suddenly arise". This section of the Charter must be understood in the light of section d. of the problem: (To recommend) "a peacetime organization for keeping psychological warfare in a ready-for-mobilization status." Analysis of the elements involved in these predications of purpose indicate a breakdown into the following:

a. The sub-committee is responsible for plans and policies which presumably might need to be placed in instant operation and implementation, without previous preparation or warning; requiring likewise, the instant deployment of psychological warfare personnel.

b. Neither SWNCC nor the sub-committee have authority over any appropriated funds in the measure essential to carrying out these purposes.

c. Activation of psychological warfare subsequent to secret instructions by the President to the State, War and Navy Departments would depend largely on provision from the Executive Emergency Funds.

d. A public declaration of emergency would conceivably be followed by a request for and congressional appropriation of funds for essential purposes arising out of the emergency.

e. No forces exist in the Executive Departments nor is there any provision for adequate training of psychological warfare personnel. Such provision would require:

(1) A training school

(2) Recruitment policies and measures

(3) A training period of anywhere from three months to a year.

f. Formal designation by Executive Order of a Central Psychological Warfare Agency, as planned by the sub-committee, will require immediate appropriation of funds for its activities. The history of congressional action on similar appropriations does not augur the speed in implementation which global total warfare will require.

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g. The possible absence of a national wartime organization for psychological warfare...in any war emergency which might suddenly arise" draws attention to the need of establishing close coordination now on a tentative basis in the present state of the sub-committee's studies with respective staff sections of the War and Navy Departments and Central Intelligence Group which are concerned with psychological warfare.

22. The formulation of psychological warfare plans and policies in accordance with national policy and in coordination with military, political and economic planning, requires the existence of a policy and planning body which to be effective must be under the authority and direction of a single responsible head who is at the same time responsible for the functional operations of the agency. It is considered that the individual so charged will report directly to the National Security Council, and to the President. This policy and planning body must include representatives of State Department, Armed Forces, Central Intelligence Agency, who are qualified to participate both as individuals and representatives of their respective organizations.

23. In time of emergency there is an inevitable tendency towards the creation of new government agencies to deal with each new problem that arises. Since the field of interest and activity pertaining to psychological warfare is extremely broad, this tendency must not be permitted to prevent the close coordination of effort required. This danger can be averted only by the carefully planned organization of an executive agency with power to act. Coordination of planning and implementation is not sufficient. Many of the specialist activities involved are common to the needs of the State, War, and Navy Departments. Some are foreign to the peacetime or wartime capabilities of these and other departments. These specialist techniques and operations include the following:

a. Analysis by equipped personnel of the emotional and ideological vulnerabilities of enemy peoples as well as those in neutral areas which may become occupied territory, either by the enemy or by American forces. Such morale analysis should include cultures (including literacy and language data), history, political, social, and economic background and current development, military and naval development, and geophysical data.

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b. Determination of propaganda instruments and methods suited to particular propaganda targets and to desired objectives.

c. Formulation of propaganda content coordinated with national policy.

d. Analysis of enemy psychological warfare methods, instruments, propaganda content and activities and determination of means to counter such activities.

e. Translators, artists, educators, writers, photographic and printing specialists, and radio technicians, with skills applicable to the special problems of psychological warfare.

f. Separation must always be kept clearly in mind between information and intelligence. Specialists in various foreign fields, such as historians, anthropologists, publicists, may supply both; but the mere professional title of any observor of the contemporary social scene of any country should not necessarily qualify him to draw interpretative conclusions on which important tactical or strategic psychological warfare projection may be based. Authoritative students of the first rank of various world societies are few and these often differ in their conclusions. Due consideration must be given to the generally accepted principle among anthropologists that racism as regards homo sapiens is an untenable principle, but that peoples develop according to their physical, spiritual, and ideological climate. Tactical specialists of this kind cannot be expected to be useful by themselves, even bringing their best knowledge and experience to the central psychological warfare organisation. A training course will be essential to relate their abilities to these special purposes.

24. A central psychological warfare agency in Washington, within the framework of relationships outlined herein, can function smoothly and efficiently as an entity, with clear horizontal divisions and clear vertical channels of responsibility established. This simplicity and clarity, so essential to efficient operations, is more difficult to achieve in theatres of operations, wherein the military commander is solely responsible for psychological warfare operations. In World War II the solution to this problem varied from theatre to theatre--in some it was never solved. A constant obstacle to a consistent and reasonable solution has always been the

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combined impact of over-enthusiasm for and reactionary non-acceptance of the value of psychological warfare. The present JCS have indicated their awareness of the importance of psychological warfare in relation to national security. There would appear to be no longer any necessity for "selling" psychological warfare as a part of the Sub-Committee's task. The reasonable working arrangements which were developed in several instances in World War II are variously adaptable to the future problem. No organizational solution, however, can replace the essential requirement for the "right man in the right place".

25. It is impossible to anticipate what government agencies may be created for what purposes in the event of war, but it is the opinion of the Sub-Committee that its plans for organization should leave no gaps in respect to the essential functions involved.

"Black" propaganda and activities in World War II were in a large part carried on by the Office of Strategic Services; "White" propaganda was the responsibility of the OWI.

Under Executive Order 9621, 20 September 1945, the functions of the Office of Strategic Services were transferred to the Department of State and the War Department. It is the opinion of the Sub-Committee that in the event of war, as determined by the President, initial planning and direction of "White" and "Black" propaganda should lie within the authority of the central Psychological Warfare organization, with due consideration of the authority ~~of the authority~~ of the theatre commanders in areas of action, and the services of existing agencies to which certain activities of OSS have been transferred. It is clear, nevertheless, that the total subject of "Black" propaganda will need to be organized in the planning of the Sub-Committee on a functioning wartime basis under the central Psychological Warfare agency. Such planning must obviously include insofar as possible the preservation of available skills in discoverable personnel, and the continuance and maintenance of techniques in properly established and coordinated training.

26. The task of overcoming the enemy's will to resist is inseparable from that of maintaining at a high level the <u>will to victory</u> of the American people. These two tasks do in fact represent the offensive and defensive

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objectives towards the attainment of which psychological warfare has its essential contribution. These offensive and defensive aspects require close integration to ensure that progress towards one objective is not at the expense of the other.

Two important aspects must be carefully considered in any study of the domestic side of the psychological warfare problem.

(1) Propaganda for home consumption is repugnant to the American tradition and the American people.

(2) The experience of World War II indicates that within the limits of security sensibly interpreted honest information on the progress of a war which draws on all the resources of the United States must not only not be withheld from the public but must be imparted in such a regular manner as to maintain confidence in its integrity.

In wars such as are now envisaged in the future, global and total, in which not only all the energies of the domestic population will be drawn upon but in which the domestic population will itself be a target, every means must be employed to retain the confidence of the domestic population and its trust in the truthfulness of information it receives. This is completely opposite to the method of dictator countries. It is on the other hand an essential part of the institutions which the American people would be defending in time of war.

With an acceptance of the principles involved in this point of view, no less consideration must be given to the realistic aspects of total warfare, expecially in relation to the changed geophysical position of Continental America. Among these, SECURITY is primary, and security considerations, however sensibly administered, result in something less than a free press. The care with which security is administered will play a considerable part in obtaining public understanding of its necessity and faith in the trustworthiness of relessable information.

In the very nature of future war, Government agencies will become the only source of releasable information about the war. Voluntary censorship of news and radio, which was successfully carried out in the main in World War II, would be subject in any future war to conditioning and limitation in

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the event of attack upon or occupation of any part of Continental United States. In such an event information pertains not only to security but equally to the conduct of psychological warfare; particularly in the sense that all American information would not only be important to an enemy's own conduct of its war activities, but would be of significance in subversion of the enemy by the psychological warfare agency of the U.S. Government.

It is clear that the weapons of psychological warfare are not always discriminate. Information broadcast to the American people will be picked up by the enemy. A broadcast under an American signature for enemy consumption will always possibly reach the American public.

These facts were recognized in the Executive orders establishing the Office of War Information (13 June, 1942, 10 March, 1943). The Director was empowered to:

a. Formulate and carry out, through the use of press, radio, motion picture, and other facilities, information programs designed to facilitate the development of an informed and intelligent understanding, at home and abroad, of the status and progress of the war effort and of the war policies, activities, and aims of the Government.

b. Coordinate the war informational activities of all Federal departments and agencies for the purpose of assuring an accurate and consistent flow of war information to the public and the world at large.

c. Obtain, study, and analyze information concerning the war effort and advise the agencies concerned with the dissemination of such information as to the most appropriate and effective means of keeping the public adequately and accurately informed.

d. Review, clear, and approve all proposed radio and motion picture programs sponsored by Federal departments and agencies; and serve as the central point of clearance and contact for the radio broadcasting and motion picture industries, respectively, in their relationships with Federal Departments and agencies concerning such Government programs.

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And -

8. The Director of the Office of War Information and the Director of Censorship shall collaborate in the performance of their respective functions for the purpose of facilitating the prompt and full dissemination of all available information which will not give aid to the enemy.

9. The Director of the Office of War Information and the Defense Communications Board shall collaborate in the performance of their respective functions for the purpose of facilitating the broadcast of war information to the peoples abroad.

The revised Executive Order of 10 March, 1943 stated:

(1) The Office of War Information will plan, develop and execute all phases of the Federal program of radio, press, publications and related foreign propaganda activities involving the dissemination of information.

Under the authority thus vested, the Director of OWI issued a regulation to the heads of all Executive Departments and Agencies (No. 7 - 17 May, 1943) in which it was stated the Director would disapprove any release which (a) is deemed to be confusing to the public; (b) contains statements believed not to be in accordance with the facts; (c) omits facts which need to be stated in order not to be misleading to the public. The Regulation stated further that it was "not to be construed to require the issuance of information which is deemed to be of aid and comfort to the enemy."

What these facts point to is that the careful direction and planning of psychological warfare, which is the essence of such a process, requires unity of guidance, direction and control, and full coordination in all its operations at the planning-policy level.

27. In the event the continental U.S. or a part thereof became a zone of combat it is to be expected that psychological warfare activities within such zone would be the responsibility of the commander. The national psychological warfare organization would function in the normal way, i.e., by providing facilities, personnel, material, and expert assistance and advice. In any event, there will be organization within the U.S. for purposes of civil and internal defense. It is impossible to predict the

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nature and extent of responsibilities of various [illegible] for these purposes. It is contemplated, however, that the relationship between the psychological warfare organization and such agencies would be similar to that between it and theater commands.

28. Precedent exists in the Government for the harmonious working together of both civil and military agencies and civil and military personnel in a common enterprise. The organization of a psychological warfare agency should be flexible enough to permit the continuing of these relationships. However, in theatres of operation a military status of practical operating personnel may be desirable. Problems of difference in status, pay and training between civilian and uniformed personnel enter into consideration of the matter. It is further complicated by unnecessary rigidity of military organization, which might tend to limit essential freedom of action in particular instances. A possible solution in part might be to give military status to all but policy personnel in a theatre of operation, which would thus assist in solving questions of supply, logistics, etc. But the problems of command in connection with psychological warfare organization in the field and its relation to the central organization at home are of such a nature that an effective satisfactory solution must rest on a special study of the problem in all aspects by the Sub-Committee.

C O N C L U S I O N S

29. The National Psychological Warfare Organization to be established under the terms of SWNCC 304/1 - 304/2 should be under the single control and direction of a Director appointed by the President from military or civil life and be responsible to the National Security Council.

30. The Director of the National Psychological Warfare Organization should be the Chairman, with power of decision, of a Planning and Policy Board upon which should sit representatives of the departments of the Armed Forces, the Department of State and such other government agencies whose participation may be found necessary or desirable.

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31. The necessary authority, strategic guidance, information, and resources of manpower, funds, facilities and materials should be provided the National Psychological Warfare Organization to enable its proper functioning in the achievement of national aims and military objectives in time of war or threat of war as determined by the President.

32. The National Psychological Warfare Organization should merge into a national effort activities and operations related to psychological warfare, using already established agencies to perform their appropriate functions.

33. The National Psychological Warfare Organization will plan, develop, and execute all phases of the Federal Program of Radio, press, publications, and related foreign propaganda activities involving the dissemination of information, and all other foreign propaganda activities, in time of war, or threat of war as determined by the President.

34. The National Psychological Warfare Organization will in time of war be charged with all phases of planning, development, control, and coordination of all psychological warfare activities both domestic and foreign and with the coordination therewith of all domestic and foreign information policies of the U. S. Government.

35. The global strategic nature of psychological warfare will necessitate centralized policy control of all domestic and overseas information agencies.

36. The National Psychological Warfare Organization will have access to and be provided with intelligence available to the government and should have made available to it from the monitoring and analysis agencies foreign information which it may require in the furtherance of its assigned functions.

37. Within established theatres of operations or in specifically designated operational areas within the continental U.S. the implementation of psychological warfare plans and directives during war or threat of war as determined by the President should be the responsibility solely of the theater commander concerned. A special study will be made by the Sub-Committee to determine the possibility of placing under military control with regard to status, responsibility, [redacted], privileges and promotion of such personnel of the psychological warfare organization who are employed in mounting operations in projected theatres of operation. All psychological warfare combat teams will be composed of personnel having military status.

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38. A specialist reserve corps should be established within the Army and Navy Reserve Corps.

39. Rosters and files descriptive of personnel as related to loyality, qualification and suitability for placement should be maintained and available to the Sub-Committee to include:

a. Trained civilian personnel on duty in the Department of State.

b. Personnel on duty in World War II in the Army, Navy, OWI, OSS and ther activities which directly participated in psychological warfare.

c. Personnel trained in such activities subsequent to b. above.

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

40. It is recommended that:

a. The conclusions above should be accepted for planning purposes.

b. The War and Navy Departments be requested to consider a specialist reserve corps in the Army and Navy Reserve Corps.

c. The Department of State be requested to maintain files on experienced civilian personnel for this activity.

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